642 646 a Provisional Government with M. Ulmanis as Prime Minister and M. Meierovics as Foreign Minister, pending the convocation of a Constituent Assembly.

642 In Lithuania, M. Sleževičius became Prime Minister in the Cabinet formed in November 1918 by M. Voldemaras, when the latter left to attend the Peace Conference in Paris. A provisional National Assembly, the 200 members of which were chosen by mass meetings all over the country, met in Kaunas (Kovno)[1] from January 17 to 23, 1919, to draft a republican constitution and to re-elect and expand the *Taryba*; M. Smetona was elected President of the State on April 4.

728 648 Before the constitutions could be drafted, however, the new Provisional Governments had to concentrate their whole energies on the military situation brought about by the Armistice of November 1918. The Armistice Convention had provided that the German troops were to evacuate all territories which were formerly a part of the Russian Empire 'as soon as the Allies shall consider this desirable, having regard to the interior conditions of those territories' (Article 12), and were to 'cease at once all requisitions, seizures, or coercive measures for obtaining supplies intended for Germany in . . . Russia' (Article 14). It was the intention of the Allies that the German forces should do their utmost to stem the Bolshevik advance, and that, when their services were no longer needed, they should withdraw from the Baltic Provinces without reaping any political reward for their efforts. This was clearly too much to expect, and the Germans, by withdrawing rapidly and without permission in November 1918, and by removing all supplies of arms, food, and even rolling-stock as they went, in violation of Article 14, not only facilitated the Bolshevik invasion, but did their best to put the new Baltic Governments in the position of having to turn to them for assistance.

648 ●721 At the end of November the Red Armies had begun to penetrate into Estonia from Narva and the Finnish coast; on January 5, 1919, they were in Vilna, and the Lithuanian Government had retired to Kaunas, while the Latvian Government had been driven from Riga to take refuge at Liepāja (Libau). By the end of February the Bolsheviks had overrun Latvia and a large part of Lithuania.

[723] In Estonia, General Laidoner and Captain Pitka organized an army and marine force from the remnants of the Estonian regiments of 1917, and—with the aid of Finnish loans and volunteers, gifts of ammunition and foodstuffs from Great Britain, and the occasional presence of British warships in Tallinn (Reval) and Liepāja under Admiral Sinclair—put up a heroic resistance, and by the beginning of February 1919 had temporarily cleared the country.

[1] Vilna was then occupied by the Bolsheviks.

For a short time Estonian troops supported General Yudenich's 648
north-western corps of the White Russian Army, assisting on May 25 721 ●
in the capture of Pskov. Since, however, both he and Admiral Kolchak were absolutely opposed to the recognition of the independent Republics, the Estonians withdrew their troops during the Bolshevik counter-offensive and recapture of Pskov in August. Thereupon the Allies sent a British general to Tallinn on August 10 to compel Yudenich to form a 'North-western Government' and sign a treaty with the Estonians. After the failure of Yudenich's second offensive in October, when his troops actually reached the suburbs of Petrograd, he retired once more into Estonia, and his army was finally dispersed.

In Latvia, where an army had been organized under Colonel Kalpaks, and later under General Balodis, reinforced by the German-Baltic *Landeswehr*, a new situation was created in February 1919 by the arrival of the German commander, General von der Goltz, ostensibly in accordance with the terms of the Armistice, but actually with the intention of coming to an understanding with the White Russian armies, driving out the Bolsheviks, and finally restoring German control over the Baltic States. With his assistance the [669]
German Balts in Latvia carried out a *coup d'état* at Liepāja, arrested the Latvian Government on April 16, and set up a new Government with a Latvian Pastor, M. A. Niedra, as its nominal head. Von der Goltz then proceeded northwards, and with the aid of the Latvian troops, who saw that the first necessity was to drive out the Bolsheviks, recaptured Riga on May 23 and drove the Red Armies to the frontier. A realignment of troops now took place; the Latvian and Estonian national forces combined to clear Livonia of Bolshevik troops, then turned on von der Goltz and the German Balts, defeated them at Cēsis (Wenden) on June 21, and drove them out of Northern Latvia.

Intervention by the Allied Powers. Perceiving at last the danger of 648
relying on Germany to carry out the terms of the Armistice in the Baltic States, the Allied Powers decided on May 23, 1919, to send an Allied Military Mission, under General Sir Hubert Gough, to deal with the local German command. They had already sent Notes on April 23 and May 4 demanding the reinstatement of the Latvian Government, and, on June 18, Marshal Foch ordered the Germans to stop all farther advance towards Estonia and to begin immediate evacuation of the Baltic region. As a result of Allied intervention, von der Goltz was forced to evacuate Riga and sign an armistice on July 3, and four days later the Latvian Government was reinstated there. Hitherto, all the protests of the Allied Powers had been disregarded by the German military authorities, but, when a further

648 remonstrance of August 1 was also ignored, the Supreme Council finally threatened to use economic pressure to enforce evacuation. At the suggestion of the German Government, a Mixed Commission was then formed which proceeded to Berlin, and thence to Tilsit in November, to deal with the question.

• [721] Meanwhile, General von der Goltz had been replaced by the adventurer Avalov-Bermondt, who in October besieged Riga. This attack was successfully resisted, and as a result of the efforts of the Mixed Commission, the German evacuation now began in earnest; by the middle of December it was complete throughout the Baltic States.

648 728 *Peace Treaties and Recognition by Foreign Powers.* It yet remained to expel the last remnants of the Bolshevik armies; but in January 1920 the Latvian troops, aided by Poland, succeeded in clearing Latgale, and by that time Estonia was already negotiating peace with Soviet Russia. She had refused a separate armistice offered by the latter at Pskov in September 1919, fearing an attempt to weaken, by disuniting, the Succession States; but, on December 31 of that year, in the face of a Soviet refusal to conduct joint negotiations with all three Governments at once, MM. Poska and Piip consented to a separate armistice, and on February 2, 1920, the Treaty of Tartu (Dorpat) was signed, whereby the R.S.F.S.R. accorded *de jure* recognition to Estonia's independence. Lithuania followed suit with the Treaty of Moscow on July 12, 1920, and Latvia on August 11, 1920, with the Treaty of Riga.[1]

It remained for Estonia to fix with Latvia their mutual frontier, and to settle the disputed question of the town of Valga (Walk), which was finally partitioned between the two countries by a Convention of March 22, 1920, through the mediation of Colonel Tallents. Latvia made peace with Germany by a Protocol of July 15, 1920; the delimitation of the Latvian-Lithuanian frontier by a court of arbitration, under the presidency of Sir James Simpson, was not completed until March 1921.

Lithuania was less fortunate, since, even after the Russian evacuation, her eastern and western frontiers were still in dispute. Vilna, which she regarded as her capital, was also claimed by Poland; and when the Bolsheviks had evacuated the city it was the Poles and not the Lithuanians who entered it on April 20, 1919. The fortunes of the city and district of Vilna during the Soviet-Polish war, which continued until the autumn of 1920, are related elsewhere.[2] Poland's final settlement of the question in her own favour by the Zeligowski *coup* of October 6, 1920, was ultimately recognized by the Conference

[1] For the terms of these settlements, see below, pp. 65–6.

[2] For the history of the Vilna controversy, see below, pp. 89–93.